1: Longrigg G-4, 5 (ca. 1915-1940) MH1 Iraq MH1

latter, which had their following of enthusiasts, were hampered by lack of playing fields and of funds and, perhaps, by some survival of conservative apathy. Sport,[1] in fact, non-existent in 'Iraq two generations earlier save for tribal games and wrestling, was still far from taking, even among the young, the leading place in popular interest which it occupied in Europe and America. Horse-racing—as elsewhere, half sport and half business—was well supported; it was regulated by law, adopted modern totalizator arrangements, stands and amenities, and was organized by two companies. Of these, successors of a series of Racing Clubs and Companies from 1918 onwards, one maintained a course in the New Baghdad suburb, the other on the royal estate now under development. Hunting and polo were the amusements of a small coterie of Army officers and the rich, under the Regent's patronage.

The immense increase in mobility and travel for all but the poorest had had strong social and psychological effects in modifying the old parochialism and encouraging wider interests. The same is true of the visits paid annually by thousands of the well-to-do to Turkey or Syria, the Lebanon, or Europe; these, as areas of escape from summer heat, were increasingly preferred to the 'Iraqi hill-stations[2] in Kurdistan which offered only coolness and scenery in austere conditions. An expenditure exceeding ID 2,500,000 on summer resorts and rest-houses formed in 1951 part of the six-year plan of the Development Board.

Although illiteracy and deep ignorance were still widespread in the towns and vastly predominant in the tribes, yet two world upheavals, fifty years of immensely increased Western contacts, easy travel and communication, conspicuous material development, an abundant press, broadcasting, greatly multiplied schools, and local and national politics had done much to modify the old isolation of the lives and minds of the poor, and had increased incomparably, among the literate classes, their knowledge of the world and the times. Such knowledge, too often superficial and distorted, was nevertheless a world away from that of the 'Iraqi effendi of 1900 both in content and in the extent of the social range of those affected. Disinterested higher learning was still rare and, theology apart, was confined to a bare dozen students of local history or

[1] Games played were football, basketball, volley-ball, badminton, boxing, athletics, wrestling, weight-lifting, table-tennis, darts, and chess. For the first two of these, various, including national, leagues and championships were organized. 'Iraqi skill at their chosen sports was excellent.

[2] These, dating from the late thirties, were Ṣalaḥ al-Din (formerly Pirmam) with a large hotel and private houses for hire; Shaqlawa and Ḥajj 'Umran with small hotels; and Sursink, with a medium hotel and a royal lodge which made it the most fashionable. All were accessible by passable roads.

3: Clark S-5 (1950)1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

CHAPTER ONE

THE BACKGROUND

THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE

An appreciation of the present state of education in Iraq and the possibility of advance towards the goal of compulsory education is not possible without some reference to the history and present circumstances of the country.

Following centuries during which a brilliant civilization flourished, particularly during the Abbasid period, the country remained under Ottoman domination from the middle of the sixteenth century until the first world war. British interest in the port of Basra and the development of the oilfields caused the people to fear a continuance of alien domination but, after an uneasy mandate, the country now known as Iraq emerged in 1932 as an independent nation with membership of the League of Nations. The long period of Ottoman domination with an administration centred in a distant capital left its mark. Administrative reforms and some social advance were attempted during the period of the mandate. When, however, Iraq became an independent State its Government was faced with a legacy of ignorance, poverty and disease among all but a very small minority of the population. Attempts have been made by successive Governments to liquidate the effects of this legacy and, in certain directions, rapid and significant progress has been made. But economic, social and political problems of great magnitude remain, all of which have their effect on educational progress or retardation.

Under its constitution the country enjoys a democratic form of government with a limited monarchy and a cabinet responsible to parliament. Despite the rapid educational advance of recent years, the majority of the people are illiterate, and effective participation in the government of the country must inevitably be confined to a few.

Iraq covers some 175,000 square miles, mainly of alluvial plain stretching from the Persian Gulf through the central uplands to the mountains of Turkish Kurdistan and from the Arabian and Syrian deserts to Persia. Apart from the four principal towns of Baghdad, Basra, Mosul and Kirkuk, together with a number of

3: Clark S-5 (1950) 1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

871 369 *The Need for Realistic Tribal Education.* Apart from this great need for the right type of village school for the forty per cent of the population who are living in settled rural communities, there should be educational provision related to the special needs of the thirty-eight per cent of the population living under semi-settled or nomadic conditions and participating in a partial or fully tribal life.

Here again attention was drawn to this important educational need by the Monroe Commission which stated that 'practically all tribal members are illiterate with the exception of some sheikhs who were sent early in their lives to towns or had a special mullah or sayyid, who lived with the tribe, to teach them reading the Koran and writing'. Again with certain modifications, due to the efforts of a minority of tribal heads who have provided their own school buildings, the comments of the Monroe Commission apply equally to conditions in 1950.

The Monroe Commission, mainly on the advice of an Iraqi educator who had made a special study of the educational needs of tribal adults and children, stressed the great importance of both preventive and constructive education for tribal dwellers during the difficult period of transition from the nomadic to the more settled agricultural life. They advocated novel educational devices to meet these special educational needs, including the provision of peripatetic teachers-cum-social advisers who would ultimately promote realistic rural schools which would provide primary education for the children and simple community centres for the adults.

These then, are the general and the outstanding educational needs of Iraq. It is now necessary, in so far as these relate to children of primary school age, to enquire to what extent they are being met in the existing primary schools system, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

3: Clark S-5 (1950)1951 MH1 Iraq MH1

SOCIAL FACTORS

Alongside these economic and administrative problems are a number of social factors which inhibit educational development.

Illiteracy and Health Problems. For many years it is likely that illiteracy among the adult population, and the state of the public health, will constitute obstacles to the extension of primary education, especially in the rural areas. The reasons for this are obvious. Parents who are themselves illiterate and living at a low standard of life are not easily persuaded that schooling is a worthwhile substitute for the work of their children. Neither are they able to provide in their homes those standards and values which, if the training of the schoolroom is not be negatived, are such necessary reinforcements to public education. Similarly, the prevalence of epidemic and endemic disease, together with inadequate sanitation, also contributes to a major health problem which must be taken into account in attempting to ensure regular school attendance.

Yet while obstacles of this kind exist, they are diminishing. The Public Health Service is developing slowly but surely, and one has only to see a doctor at work in a remote rural area to appreciate the devoted service which is beginning to contribute to a solution of some of the health problems. Again, although illiteracy and poverty are not the best friends of education, one has only to visit remote little village schools to realize that some of the poorest parents are making sacrifices to send their children to school.

Before compulsory education can be achieved, however, even assuming that the money for it will be forthcoming, a vigorous attack on adult illiteracy will be essential. To this end, what is needed in the rural areas is a type of school which, in addition to meeting the needs of the children, provides in a practical and non-academic fashion realistic fundamental education for the parents. The teacher training institutions would make a most valuable contribution if, quite apart from training the future teachers to attend to the needs of children, they also initiated them into the more practical techniques of teaching illiterates the fundamentals of better living.

The Position of Women and Children. Another obstacle to educational and social development which is often quoted is the position of women in a society which is predominantly Muslim. Traditionally women are discouraged from taking part in public life, and this attitude is bound to be reflected in education.

for some time. Women have been employed so far only in exceptional cases. A new problem has been recently experienced in the high turnover of ordinary labour. Owing to the development of the oil industry in Kuweit and other Persian Gulf areas, and the high wages being paid there, many workers in Baghdad, and more still in the depressed farming areas, have been emigrating there. The turnover in the cotton textile industry of Iraq is estimated at 20 per cent of employed labour.

The main difficulty however lies in the shortage of skilled and semi-skilled labour. The vast amount of illiteracy among the population, and the failure to make elementary education compulsory has made it difficult to apply any system of apprenticeship successfully. Technical education provided by the State has so far been on a very limited scale - indeed, there are only three technical secondary schools in the whole of Iraq. Therefore a new industry has often first to train its own labourers and technicians, and this of course adds to costs. In the meanwhile, most industries are dependent on foreign technicians, experts, constructors, heads of sections, and foremen. The employment of foreign technicians no doubt is inevitable in the early stages of development, but it has its own drawbacks and burdens. Foreign skill demands higher rewards abroad than it would accept at home, the standard of skill obtained is often not the highest, service is often interrupted either by ordinary leaves, or illness or inability to fit in with local conditions.

The lack of qualified labour also applies to the fields of administration, accounts, and management. Efficient clerks, typists, store-keepers, accountants and secretaries are in great demand and very few are available in Iraq. The inadequacy of State commercial education is no less than that of technical education. The scarcity of able management is a serious obstacle to the progress of industry. Those few who have entered the field of industry are mostly of the type of proprietor-manager (even in joint-stock companies managers are usually fairly large share-holders); while the members of boards of directors of industrial companies, (about twenty to twenty-five men) mostly have their own business or profession to attend to. No wonder they show reluctance to go into new enterprises. For one reason or another salaried managers have not made their way into industry, except in very rare cases. On the other hand foreign management, especially on the

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

466 467 greater benefits through collective bargaining. At present, labor laws set up certain requirements with respect to hours of work, periods of rest, vacations, employment of minors and compensation for disability. The Labor Department, however, is inadequately staffed to enforce the law and the many reported violations are generally allowed to go uncorrected. In 1949-50, of 1,228 enterprises inspected, only 136 were found to comply with the law. Of the remainder, 974 were simply warned and 118 cases were referred to courts. It would be desirable to enforce existing legislation before enacting other labor laws. Efforts are apparently being made to survey the possibility of introducing a social insurance system into Iraq. Under existing conditions, however, any social insurance law might tend to remain a dead letter.

874 464 [212] Training of labor is impeded by the prevailing illiteracy which makes instruction in writing largely impossible. Elementary schooling and adult education are therefore essential to the improvement of labor efficiency. There is in existence a secondary technical school which attempts to train intermediate school graduates in industry. The curriculum of the school, however, lays too little emphasis on practical training; and the graduates of the school show a disinclination to work with their hands. It would be far better to rely on apprenticeship systems for the basic practical training, and to use the school primarily for supplementary instruction of a somewhat broader character which might be needed by the more highly skilled workers and foremen. Those who are trained in the shop or on the site through such apprenticeship systems can then be recruited from the ranks of the laboring class which is accustomed to manual work. Large private companies and public enterprises like the Iraq Petroleum Company, the railways and the Basra port administration all possess large machine shops where varied training can be imparted to many more than at present. It is suggested, therefore, that the government enlist their cooperation in the training of skilled workers for Iraq's requirements generally.

Commercial and business education is also important. Government, banking and commercial firms, and industrial concerns are all handicapped by a shortage of competent typists, stenographers, clerks, bookkeepers and accountants which has been aggravated by

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

primary school education and much of the investment in their education accordingly bears little fruit. The facilities and quality of technical or vocational education are seriously deficient and adult education has been almost wholly neglected. Probably about 80 percent of the men and over 95 percent of the women remain illiterate. Moreover, educational concepts are far too narrow and too little related to the everyday problems of living.

As the result of its study of educational needs the Mission has come to the conclusion that the government should launch a three-part program involving (1) the improvement and extension of technical education, (2) the gradual introduction of compulsory primary school education, and (3) fundamental education for adults.

Technical Schooling

The question of technical or vocational education is not treated in detail here, partly because it has already been discussed in connection with agriculture and industry, partly because the government has requested UNESCO to send a special mission on vocational education. Although the number of students in technical schools—about 750—seems very inadequate, Iraq apparently has had difficulty in absorbing the graduates of these institutions largely because they lack sufficient practical training and they show a distaste for manual work. Obviously one of the first steps toward improved technical training will be to give the curriculum of the intermediate and secondary schools a greater vocational bias, with emphasis upon the dignity and value of manual labor. It is also worth emphasizing again that skilled labor and foremen can best be recruited from the ranks of active young workmen through on-the-job training programs, supplemented in some cases by technical schooling. Only the higher supervisory grades of personnel need to be trained in technical schools, and even for these there should be considerable emphasis on practical training in business, industry and agriculture as an integral part of the curriculum.

Introduction of Compulsory Primary Education

There is a general consensus both among Iraqi educators and foreign experts who have examined the problem that the time has come for a broad advance in the direction of compulsory education.

7: International Bank N, S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

trade for the surrounding countryside and as collection centers for its produce. Even in the smallest towns rows of small shopkeepers' booths can be seen and the larger towns usually have extensive bazaars.

Private and public service is another important group of occupations. Besides domestic service it includes such occupations as laundering and catering, the latter a not unimportant category in a country where the coffee-house is a center of social activity. In the four provinces for which data is available, there were 45,000 (of which 6,000 were women) in this group. The estimate given above does not seem excessive for the country as a whole.

A more detailed classification of workers employed in manufacturing will be found in Table 7. This table is based largely on statistics of workers employed in factories which have been compiled by the Labor Directorate from returns by factory inspectors. These figures are, however, acknowledged to be incomplete, particularly as regards the large numbers of handicraft workers who are self-employed with one or two assistants. From the census data it is evident that there are a large number of additional workers occupied in woodworking and allied occupations (e.g., working with palm leaves or reeds) and in tailoring or dressmaking; some addition would also have to be made for jewelry and textile workers. The figure of 75,000 given here includes an estimate for these additions.

The estimate for transportation, which includes all employees of the railways and the Port of Basra, is a particularly rough one. It is believed, however, to be of the right order of magnitude. The figure for government workers is reasonably accurate, although it may duplicate to some extent workers in other categories already specified. The residual figure, of course, is subject to an extremely wide margin of error. It includes all categories not mentioned elsewhere such as construction workers and the professions insofar as they are not employed by the government.

Literacy

The acquisition of skill is severely limited by lack of education. Education is, as the monograph on that subject shows, broader than the mere ability to read and write, but the degree of

7: International Bank N. S-4 (1951) 1952 MH1 Iraq MH1

literacy in the country is a fair guide to the extent to which the Iraqi can be considered educated. According to the census, which recorded the literacy of all those of five years of age or over, literacy in Baghdad among males over five was over 40 percent; in the smaller towns of the province it was about 30 percent and in the villages only 10 percent. These figures are probably well above the average. Cities like Basra and Kirkuk have a male literacy nearer 30 percent, but in many rural *nahiyas* it is five percent or less and in the remoter *nahiyas* of the North as low as two percent.

Literacy is much lower among women than among men. In the cities of Baghdad and Mosul, the proportion of literate females over five was about 20 percent (about half that of the males). Outside of the larger cities, however, female education hardly exists. The proportion of female literates in the rural areas and the smaller towns of Mosul, Kirkuk, Basra and Baghdad provinces barely exceeds one percent.

It is not known how literacy was defined in the census, but even if these figures represent a real ability to read and understand rather than a smattering of education, it is clear that illiteracy is a great handicap to even the simplest form of written instruction. In industry this is apt to put a heavy burden of detailed work on the management of a factory. In agriculture it gives little possibility of supplementing the limited amount of oral instruction or visual demonstration which the present agricultural service can render.

III. The Standard of Living

No systematic estimate of the national income has yet been made. A rough estimate by the Statistical Office of the United Nations put the income per head in 1949 at $85. The equivalent in dinars would depend on the exchange rate chosen for conversion, which is necessarily an arbitrary choice; at the old rate, it would be about ID 20, at the new ID 30. The Mission attempted to make an estimate of the national product, but the information

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
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511 of the people are even more primitive than their ancestors of several thousand years ago. They live on the ground in mud huts, in the shadows of the stone ruin of their ancestors' homes. They draw water by hand from wells from which water was once pulled by giant water wheels; they irrigate their tiny garden patches with hand scoops where once large canals watered thousands of acres.

871 212 Despite the progress in education, less than half the children are in school, and only half of those fortunate ones finish the primary grades. In the country as a whole, 80 per cent of the males and 95 per cent of the females are still illiterate.

These people now hope for a new life, a place in the sun again.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

651 382 The internationally-owned oil companies operating in Iraq recently have increased oil output materially and expect by 1955 to be producing at a rate five times above the 1951 level. Half of the profits before taxes will accrue to the Iraq Government, and should amount to about $600 million during the next five years.

647 654 These revenues will be assigned to the Central Development Board, an autonomous agency established to insure greater continuity in the planning and implementation of development programs. An American, Wesley Nelson, formerly Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau of Reclamation in the United States Department of Interior, is a member of the board by invitation of the Iraq Government.

FINANCING

652 654 The Board is following rather closely a development program recommended by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development after its special mission made a detailed study of the Iraq economy at the request of the government. The cost of the suggested five-year program, beginning with fiscal 1952-53, is estimated at approximately $471.8 million to be apportioned as follows:

Project	*In Millions of Dollars*
Flood control, irrigation, and drainage	154.5
Industry	103.6
Transport and communications	86.8
Community Facilities	65.0
Agriculture and Forestry	21.0
Education	17.1
Public Health	14.0
Development Board administration, studies, etc.	4.2
Miscellaneous expenditures	5.6
	471.8

To carry out the program the Development Board would have to spend $42 million in 1952-53 and successively larger sums each year, up to a total of $140 million in 1956-57.[33]

[33] *Economic Development of Iraq*, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1952, p. 63.

369 423 471 511 others almost for life itself. In their position they cannot help themselves, but go on generation after generation at the same poor level of living. There are no committees or councils to represent themselves or which government sources might utilize for participation in family and village development programmes.

369 433 511 Many other problems such as undeveloped village crafts and industries, lack of access roads and marketing facilities might be added. Enough has been described to indicate the great and urgent need for a broad programme for assistance to the rural population of the country. It is recognized that these are not new conditions but part of a way of life that has been characteristic of these people for centuries. The wealth and labour of the land through all these years has been for the welfare of the few who ruled. It has been only within comparatively recent years that the leaders of Iraq have become concerned about or in a position to help in the improvement of rural affairs.

B. CAUSES OF CONDITIONS

369 566 Many factors beside tradition have contributed to the present plight of the rural people. Essentially their problems stem from the lack of security on the land, the lack of financial means or credit to develop their farming or crafts and the lack of knowledge to promote their own advancement.

1. System of Land Tenure

369 423 471 The major and self-evident cause of present poverty is the lack of ownership of land and of any security under the tenant system. The tenant owns no farm or house. He must shift his farming operations or even leave the land as he is directed. Therefore, he has no base on which to build a better life or earn a better income. The small land farmer who owns his own land frequently has an insufficient amount to provide adequate income.

2. Lack of Credit

369 452 566 Credit for the small farmer or tenant is virtually unavailable. Both tenant and small owner are subject to a system of sharecropping or credit which by exorbitant rates leaves them with insufficient balance from their crops for their own subsistence. In fact some tenants receive as little as 20 to 30 per cent of their crop. Small farmers often have to forfeit their lands because they cannot pay off their mortgages and work in the employ of their creditors. Rarely it was found that a small farmer received a loan from the Agricultural Bank.

3. Poor Land Use

369 566 311 The landlord, however, does not always stand to make great profits. He loses more proportionately than the tenant during crop failures when he must provide them with food and receive no return. He loses continually from their inefficient farming methods, their ill-health and limited ability to work and the uses to which he puts his hands.

4. Lack of Knowledge and Training

369 871 212 Especially important among these reasons for poverty is lack of training and information. The rural people are for the most part without education in its broadest and most fundamental sense. First, there is a lack of ability to read and write to obtain more information.

Sephardic origin. The majority have since migrated to Israel, while probably less than 10,000 remain, subject to certain restrictions. Over 130,000 were transported to Israel by the Iraqi government in 1950-51. About 5,000 Palestinian refugees have settled in the country since the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948. Small numbers of British, American and other nationalities also reside in the larger cities.

As a whole, Iraq is sparsely settled, with the population concentrated in the river valleys and in the rain-irrigated highland districts of the north. The most densely populated areas are found in the river valleys of the northern delta. In 1947, the density of population in the provinces of the upper delta region was calculated at 131 per square mile in Hilla and 104 in Baghdad. In the northern provinces of Mosul, Kirkuk and Erbil it averaged 31 to 39 per square mile, and in Sulaimaniya, on the eastern frontier, 62 per square mile. In the south, it ranged from 75 per square mile in Basra province to 42 in Amarah, while in Dulaim, on the upper reaches of the Euphrates, it did not exceed 10 per square mile. The population is essentially rural: over three quarters of the inhabitants live in some 8,000 small villages or in semipermanent settlements. The Bedouin, representing about 5 to 8 per cent of the total population, roam the deserts with their flocks, but many migrate seasonally to the towns in search of work. There are only 7 cities with over 40,000 inhabitants. The population of Baghdad, the capital, was estimated at between 900,000 and 1 million in 1952, including over 500,000 in the metropolitan area and several hundred thousand in the surrounding suburbs. The population of Mosul, a commercial center on the upper Tigris, totaled about 150,000, and of Kirkuk, the metropolis of the oil region, almost 75,000. Basra, the chief port, located on the Shatt al Arab, had a population of 90,000 to 100,000.

In spite of considerable progress in education within the last 30 years, the majority

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
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of peasants and tribesmen are illiterate. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory for both sexes, but the facilities are inadequate, particularly in the rural areas. Recent estimates indicate that the literacy rate in the country as a whole approximates 10 per cent, in contrast with about 40 per cent in Baghdad and the larger cities. Education is controlled by the government, and public instruction is available at all levels from the primary schools through the professional colleges. There is no university in Iraq, but the incorporation of the present colleges into a national institution, with university status, has been proposed. Separate colleges of medicine, pharmacy, law, science, arts, fine arts, engineering, commerce and teachers' training, as well as various types of vocational schools, are supported by the government. Secondary schools are also maintained by private and mission groups. Government scholarships are provided annually to qualified students for study abroad, usually in Egypt, Great Britain or the United States.

Vital Statistics

Valid vital statistics are almost nonexistent, since the registration of births and deaths is admittedly incomplete, even in the principal cities, as Baghdad, Basra and Mosul. The general reluctance of the inhabitants to report births, deaths and other statistical data and the large size of the nomadic and the semimigratory populations are factors contributing to the inaccuracy of the figures available. Within recent years statistics have been compiled by the government health organization in 75 centers under the jurisdiction of medical officers, but they do not reflect conditions throughout the country. In 1950, these health districts covered a population of 1,160,000, distributed in all 14 of the provinces into which Iraq is divided. The birth rate was estimated at 27 per 1,000 population, and the death rate at 12 per 1,000. Competent authorities, however, believe that the over-all birth rate is nearer 40 to 50 per 1,000 popu-

p. 23(8)